826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

[595] The description of one certain case, as it was reported by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length
158 of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home
826 tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out
755 in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

548 /167 cont./ gave her little presents. Her father declared her dead, but her brothers did not follow his example. Consequently, there remained the threat of danger. After a few months she fled to Macassar with a man. An ordinary marriage by flight was therefore the end of the adventure of this woman who broke the ties with her parental house in order to gain greater freedom in Bontomanai than would have been possible in the midst of her own relatives.

156 548 It should not be expected that among prostitutes in the large city one will meet the modest, withdrawn types who, in the country, are held up as the ideal to the young girls. Rather one can expect among them those who submit with difficulty to the many restrictions imposed upon them. Further research would have to take place here.

I would venture to suggest that while in western Europe the innocent, misled, middle-class girl is found as well as the girl who becomes a prostitute for economic reasons, in South Celebes where no economic coercion leads to prostitution, women with aggressive characteristics, probably the adventurous type, practice prostitution.

Polygamous Marriage

162 ●595 As of April, 1940, there were 34 polygamous men among more than 13,000 inhabitants (1) in the adat community of

1. There is no sense in giving figures for polygamous marriages in the kampong Bontoramba. In 1940 there were none, and in 1949 new figures could not be collected after the war for lack of time.

162 /167 cont./ Borongloë. In the 1930 Census Report (2)

595 2. Part 5, pp. 70-71.

figures for polygamous men in the province of /168/ Goa are not mentioned separately. With respect to the Macassar subdivision outside the community, it is stated that the percentage of "adult polygamously married men" is low, in this case below 2. Now, if we estimate the number of men in Borongloë at 6, 400, and the number of married men at a quarter of this, 1, 600, then the percentage for Borongloë would be more than 2. This could still be reduced further. For among the 34 polygamously married men there are 7 foreigners, to wit, 3 Indochinese, each married to two Makassarese women, 3 Buginese, and 1 Sajjid /sayid?/. The latter, who came from a kampong situated along the southern coast outside Goa, returned there as early as 1941. Of the remaining 27, it can be said that they were natives of Borongloë.

595 For four of these 27 polygamous marriages, the second marriage was carried out in the festive way. In the other 23 cases it took place after silariang. Of these four one involved the exceptional case that an approximately sixty-year-old, comparatively poor man married, with the assent of his first wife, a young girl, who subsequently came to live in the same house with them. The other three were "normal" [556] cases in which a well-to-do man with a certain personal authority contracted a second marriage against the wishes of his first wife and had a separate house built for this second wife.

In three of the 34 cases, a man was married to three women. Two of these men, the Sajjid and a Makassarese, had been able to carry out their second, as well as their third, marriages, only by means of silariang. The third, the adat community head, had himself arranged his second and third marriage.

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed, [586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[687]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 578 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes [682 672] the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder. If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

595 /170 cont./ which this rule was taken could not be traced down, just as it was not possible to find the Makassarese text.

595 The two wives each has her own house. In 24 of the 27 polygamous marriages, the two houses were even in different kampongs. If it is said of a man that he owns two houses, this means that he has two wives. The wives live each in her own house together with their children and a single kinsman, leading their own lives. They never see each other. They are thought to ignore each other. When they go to pay visits, kinsmen take care that the one does not come where the other is. At festivals the second wife always yields to the first, but in actuality she always gets just as much of a chance to be present, even though it is just for a short period of time. In practice, the two women know everything about each other that can be regarded of any interest at all. [521] Female "friends" tell the news, especially the bad news, that each wife wants to hear about the other. In the course of many years the sharpest edges are often worn off this relationship. The children of the one go to the house of the other with their father. An instance where the two women at a greater age visited each other from time to time remains an exception, however.

It is expected that the husband takes his first wife's feelings into consideration and that he will do nothing that could remind her of her rival. An old example is that a man must [593] put away the contents of his betel box before he comes to the [576] other wife, because filling this box is, all the way up to the [276] highest social circles, a special task that a woman performs for her husband, so that a woman, upon seeing the fresh betel leaves, is immediately reminded of the other woman (2).

595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f.88 for upper classes and f.20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f.65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Frederícy's [i.e., H.J. Friederícy, De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the uppers mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

583 565 435 114 [684] 586 595

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

212

general agreement that there is a desire for at least one boy. 842
But evidently there is no strong feeling on this matter. Per- 611
haps we again see a survival of the matrilineal system here?
I gave a long lecture on birth control, pessaries, etc. They [123]
listened breathlessly to what I said about planned families.
They said there simply was no control here. The more the
better. I talked at length regarding the future decision con-
cerning quality versus quantity, and they listened in rather
a dead-pan style. I told them about the over-population of
Java and they were impressed. They said, laughingly, that
here no one sought medicine in order to have fewer children,
but that they did seek it to have more! This is all very inter-
esting and they are clearly fascinated by my stories.

We quit at 6 P.M as the guru had to go to prayer. This is 512
Friday (or maybe he goes everyday).

This morning Andi told me that I had been accepted. The 123
people were no longer afraid of me, and I feel that this is 574
true. They are now glad to see me come. There is always 562
tea or coffee, and the cakes are not bad. Such fare must al-
ways be served to guests, and the Kepala kampong said that
if the women are not willing to serve food to guests there
may be trouble. I noticed that the women here never come
into the front when I am present, a difference from the be-
havior noted in Makassar. The tea, and so forth, is served
by the Kepala kampong or his son or a retainer. The Kepala 576
kampong, a hadji, is very ceremonious, and always bends
over and holds his left hand on his right wrist when he shakes
hands with me. The older people here always do so, while the
younger ones not so much.

September 7, 1949: Trip to Pampanua to see the padjoge. 595 ●
Andi's brother, a policeman in Pampanua, had a child ten 852
days ago, and this calls for a six-day feast. He has several 574
houses and three wives although he is a young man. He is
sleek and good looking, and very sedate, though pleasant.
We arrived in Pampanua about six thirty and went first to a 000
house where the Sulewatang had lived at one time. On the way
we saw the kampong Welado which was formerly Badjo. Later
the Sulewatang said that there are some Badjo near Watam-
pone (about twenty kilometers south) on the sea, about a
three-kilometer walk from the road. He said the children
soon after birth are ducked in the sea and they soon swim
like fish. They learn to handle boats early, and when they
marry they pair off for ten or fifteen days alone in a prau.
The man cooks in the stern and the woman in the bow. I am
not clear on this point, but evidently when consummated the
marriage is recognized by a signal which is raised. Thus the
marriage is completed.

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
179 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

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565

D. Trade and Class Combinations

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Skilled	44	75	2	4	-	125
Goldsmith	(30)	(19)	(1)	-	-	(50)
Leather	(4)	(39)	(1)	(4)	-	(48)
Other	(10)	(17)	-	-	-	(27)
Peddler	9	32	3	-	3	47
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Merchant	2	2	-	-	9	13
Unskilled	1	7	-	-	-	8
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Government	2	1	-	-	-	3
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
None	4	11	1	-	-	16
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
Totals	68	162	6	5	12	253

[595] Marriage Cases

8 cases of polygyny. All extra wives live outside the kampong. [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst]

7 cases involve noble men.

1 case is the case of a rich commoner, Liyu, the brick-tile-cement tycoon. He has made money, and now has a second wife.

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13)

M - Man
W - Woman
N - Noble
C - Commoner
S - Slave

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-CW (11)	80-60	None	D 51
	70-60	Leather	E 17
	70-55	Goldsmith	A 9
	60-60	None	A 23
	60-57	Cycle repair	C 7
	60-40	Goldsmith	A 37
	60-24	Thatcher	E 13
	50-40	Leather	D 16
	35-30	Unknown	E 35
	30-25	Sandman	E-19
	25-18	Goldsmith	D-21